

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8862

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION UN NEWYORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USAEC GERMANTOWN

USMISSION GENEVA

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16430

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM IAEA JA

SUBJ: JAPANESE MANEUVERING ON RATIFICATION OF NPT

REF: A. TOKYO 14947 (NOTAL) B. TOKYO 16066 (NOTAL)

C. TOKYO 16130 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: PM TANAKA'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOJ INTENTION OF
SEEKING DIET RATIFICATION OF NPT HAS BEEN SUPPORTED BY ALL
MAJOR NEWSPAPERS. TANAKA'S SURPRISE MOVE TO "GO PUBLIC"
ACHIEVED MOMENTUM AND GAINED ADVANTAGE OVER OPPONENTS OF
NPT. HOWEVER, IN ADDITION TO POLITICAL OPPOSITION, OTHER PROBLEMS
ALSO MUST BE OVERCOME TO ACHIEVE EARLY RATIFICATION.

PROBLEMS INCLUDE: A) PROGRESS ON SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT;

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B) RESOLVING ISSUE OF LINKAGE BETWEEN TIMING OF RACHING

SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT AND RATIFYING NPT, AND C) BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR JAPAN'S SAFEGUARDS INSPECTORATE. END SUMMARY.

1. PM TANAKA'S TV ANNOUNCEMENT THAT GOJ WOULD SEEK DIET RATIFICATION OF NPT GENERATED WIDESPREAD, FAVORABLE PRESS SUPPORT. MAJOR NEWSPAPERS EDITORIALS (ASAHI, MAINICHI, SANKAI, NIKKEI, AND YOMIURI) HAVE ALL ADVOCATED JAPAN'S RATIFYING NPT, PICKING UP MAJOR POINTS PM TANAKA MADE IN HIS TV COMMENTS. (REF A) EDITORIALS NOTED (AS EARLIER REF C) THAT JAPAN'S CONCERNS ABOUT SAFEGUARDS HAD BEEN ESSENTIALLY SATISFIED AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY WAS GUARANTEED TO NON-NUCLEAR STATES. LATTER WAS LINKED TO MEANS OF ENSURING RELIABLE SOURCES OF URANIUM SUPPLY. IN THIS CONNECTION, SOME EDITORIALS COMMENTED BLUNTLY THAT RATIFICATION OF NPT WOULD EASE US CONCERNS OVER JAPAN'S NUCLEAR POLICIES.

2. FONOFF AND OTHER PRO-NPT GOJ OFFICIALS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE ENCOURAGED PRESS TO SUPPORT RATIFICATION OF NPT. THIS TACTIC ASSISTS PM TANAKA'S STRATEGY DISCUSSED IN REF B, TO TAKE ISSUE OUT OF CABINET WHERE OPPOSITION TO NPT EXISTS AND TO APPEAL DIRECTLY TO PUBLIC. WE BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTER KNEW OPPOSITION FROM MIT MIN NAKASONE AND ALSO FROM AEC COMMISSION CHAIRMAN MORIYAMA (SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGENCY DIRECTOR GENERAL), AMONG OTHERS, MIGHT WELL HAVE TIED UP DECISION IN CABINET THROUGH INTERMINABLE DISCUSSION AND THEREBY PRECLUDED MUCH HOPE OF PRESENTING NPT TO DIET DURING CURRENT SESSION. NEVERTHELESS, MORIYAMA HAS MADE HIS OPPOSITION PUBLIC BY TELLING PRESS DEC 14 THAT HE PERSONALLY WANTED "TO COPE WITH RATIFICATION CAUTIOUSLY". HE HAS SAID PRIVATELY HE WILL OPPOSE RATIFICATION REGARDLESS OF TANAKA'S ACTION.

3. DESPITE GOJ'S ACTION AND PRESS SUPPORT, PROBLEMS OTHER THAN POLITICAL OPPOSITION MUST ALSO BE OVERCOME TO ACHIEVE EARLY RATIFICATION. QUESTION OF EXTENT TO WHICH REACHING SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT AND RATIFYING NPT ARE LINKED IS UNRESOLVED. YOSHIO KAWASHIMA, DIRECTOR NUCLEAR MATERIALS CONTROL CENTER, TOLD EMBOFFS THAT HE BELIEVES BOTH MUST BE SUBMITTED TO DIET TOGETHER OR AT LEAST SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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INITIALED AND IN FINAL FORM PRIOR TO RATIFICATION OF NPT. KAWASHIMA AND OTHERS ARE ALSO UNSURE WHAT TIMING PM TANAKA HAS IN MIND.

4. FUNDING FOR ESTABLISHING JAPAN'S NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS CENTER (CENTER WILL BE JAPAN'S NATIONAL INSPECTORATE) IS ANOTHER HURDLE WHICH MUST BE SURMOUNTED IN CURRENT DIET BUDGET DELIBERATIONS (BEFORE DEC 29) IF GOJ IS TO

COMPLETE PREPARATIONS FOR SATISFYING IAEA AGREEMENT. AS REPORTED EARLIER, TANAKA'S ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD HELP IN INCLUDING FUNDS FOR CENTER IN BUDGET BUT IT IS STILL AN UNCERTAINTY. OUTCOME OF BUDGET DELIBERATIONS SHOULD ALSO INDICATE MORE CLEARLY FINMIN FUKUDA'S POSITION ON RATIFICATION. HIS SUPPORT MIGHT BE DECISIVE IN SWINGING MAJORITY LDP BEHIND PM TANAKA IN NPT.

5. FONOFF (TANAKA, HEAD SCIENTIFIC DIV) ALSO TOLD US THAT LINKAGE BETWEEN SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT AND RATIFICATION NPT STILL NOT RESOLVED. TANAKA SAID FONOFF WAS WAITING TO SEE OUTCOME OF BUDGET DELIBERATIONS BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED IN SEEKING DIET NPT RATIFICATION. APPROVAL OF FUNDS FOR CENTER WOULD OF COURSE EASE WAY BUT TANAKA DID NOT RULE OUT PROCEEDING IN ANY CASE. TANAKA SAID SCIENTIFIC DIV HOPED TO ACHIEVE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT IN FEB IAEA BOARD MEETING, BUT HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS TARGET WAS HIGHLY OPTIMISTIC.

6. COMMENT: BY "GOING PUBLIC" PRIME MINISTER TANAKA ACHIEVED MOMENTUM FOR RATIFICATION AND GAINED ADVANTAGE OVER AKASONE, MORIYAMA, AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF RATIFICATION. HIS REMARKS AND THOSE IN PRESS PRESENTING NPT RATIFICATION AS AN ACTION RELATED TO SOLVING ENERGY CRISIS SHOULD GAIN POPULARITY FOR NPT. AT THIS POINT PRIMARY IMMEDIATE OBSTACLES APPEAR TO BE THOSE DISCUSSED IN 3, 4 AND 5, ABOVE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE VIENNA'S COMMENT ON PROSPECTS FOR EARLY GOJ-IAEA AGREEMENT AND ON POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING SPECIAL BOARD MEETING TO APPROVE AGREEMENT.
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